

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

VOLUME XIII, NUMBER 6

WASHINGTON, D. C.

OCTOBER 18, 1943

Radio Broadcasting Controversy Raised

News Commentators Protest Ruling of CBS Against Expressing Personal Opinions

OTHER ISSUES ARE DEBATED

Concern Right of Labor and Other Groups to Time on Air. Role of Government Examined

To what extent should news analysts and commentators be curbed or censored when they broadcast? Should they enjoy the same freedom to express their opinions to listeners as editorial writers do to readers of daily newspapers? Are the great radio broadcasting companies themselves fair to all groups in the matter of controversial issues? In turn, what pressure is the government exerting over the broadcasting companies in the interest of the policies of the Roosevelt administration?

All these questions have come prominently to the fore within the last week or so. They have raised vital issues which affect the entire American public, for radio has come to play an important role in the everyday life of citizens. It vies with the newspaper in shaping public opinion. It has indeed become one of the great forces in our national life. Let us, therefore, consider the issues which have been raised and which are now being widely discussed.

Issue of "Gagging"

Certain radio commentators have accused the broadcasting companies of "gagging" them. Cecil Brown called the nation's attention to the issue when he gave up his daily five-minute news summary over the Columbia Broadcasting System's network. The company had criticized a statement made by Mr. Brown over the air: "A good deal of the enthusiasm for this war is evaporating into thin air." It ruled that news commentators and analysts would be forbidden from voicing their opinions on controversial issues and must hereafter confine their remarks to the facts.

Certain other radio commentators immediately took sides with Mr. Brown in his dispute with Columbia. H. V. Kaltenborn, veteran news analyst, replied that no commentator "worth his salt could or would be completely neutral or objective." He and others feel that if all expressions of opinion are ruled out, the news programs will become a mere recital of such facts as one sees in the newspapers and the public will be deprived of seasoned opinions and careful analysis which aids in understanding vital public problems.

CBS defends its policy by pointing to the powerful position which the radio commentator enjoys. He speaks to millions of listeners and can exert mighty influence in shaping public opinion. As Paul White, news director of CBS, defends the policy, a

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Life in many parts of the Philippines is still primitive

A Way Must Be Found

By Walter E. Myer

"This war," says Anne O'Hare McCormick in the New York Times, "has made us accustomed, even callous, to the destruction of cities. London and Coventry, Warsaw and Rotterdam, Sevastopol and Stalingrad, Hamburg and Cologne are only a few of the great urban centers that have been laid waste. It is a war that has hardened us to human suffering. The imagination is too stunned, the heart too small, to take in a cruelty so inhuman, an agony so vast, as the news prints on the mind one day and erases the next with a fresh tale of horror. Who can magnify a millionfold the misery of every uprooted family, of each hunted Jew, of men and women snatched from their homes and enslaved in labor battalions, of the ravaged village of Russia, of the hostage, of the homeless, of the starving?"

"Even the wholesale hunger of children hardly moves us. One feels shame as a human being to read the story Therèse Bonney has told in searing pictures in her book, *Europe's Children*, a story beyond words, and beyond imagination, for if we could feel what this record tells, what the news reveals, we should realize more clearly than we do that the military part of this war is only one part, in the end perhaps not the most decisive."

It is inevitable that we should, to a certain extent, harden ourselves to the suffering and horrors of war. If we gave our emotions free play we would be driven to madness. We are justified in turning our thoughts part of the time into more pleasant channels while we can do so. But we are not justified in so closing our hearts to the terrible realities that we are no longer moved by the tragedies millions are experiencing. Moments of heightened imagination which bring before us pictures of the woes of a shattered world, alternating with moments of escape, that is perhaps the formula which most of us must adopt.

But let no one stifle his emotions to the point of indifference. Let us look squarely at the truth about what is happening in the world so that we may resolve to do our part toward insuring that it may not happen again. A full realization of the cost of the war in terms of human misery should sweep away the cynicism which prompts some people to say that wars cannot be prevented.

If a dear relative or friend were at the point of death we would not say with a yawn "Oh well, nothing can be done about it." But we are confronted by a possibility equally tragic. Our own friends and relatives and millions of others will feel suffering and sorrow if wars such as this are not prevented. We must find the way to permanent peace. We must be willing to think about the problems involved, to study them, to work tirelessly for a better and more peaceful day. Defeat is too terrible to tolerate. The stakes are too high. Thinking people cannot do other than resolve that this thing shall not occur again.

Philippine Freedom Sought By President

Roosevelt Asks Authority to Give Islands Independence Before Date Fixed by Law

PROBLEMS MUST BE SOLVED

How to Protect the Filipinos Against Aggression and Economic Collapse Are Big Issues

During the last month, the question of granting immediate independence to the Philippine Islands—or at least early independence—has arisen. Late last month, Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland introduced a resolution in the Senate calling for authority to be granted to the President to proclaim immediate independence. A similar resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives. A few days later, the President himself sent a message to Congress, asking for authority to grant Philippine independence as soon as "feasible."

Thus, even though the war in the Pacific is far from won and the islands are completely occupied by the Japanese, the problem of the future of the Philippines has become a real problem. Under existing law, passed several years before the outbreak of war, the Philippines are to be completely independent of all ties to the United States. Steps looking toward preparation for nationhood were being taken at the time of Pearl Harbor. Now, the question of advancing the date of independence has been raised by the President and influential members of Congress.

The reasons for advancing the date of Philippine independence were clearly set forth by the President in his message to Congress October 8: In part, he said:

The President's Message

Since the Japanese launched their attack on the Philippine Islands, I have on several occasions addressed messages on behalf of the American people to the courageous people of the Philippines—expressing our admiration of their heroism and loyalty. I have assured them that the government of the United States of America will see to it that their independence will be promptly established and—still more important—that it will be protected.

The resources of the United States, in men and material, stand behind that pledge to the people of the Philippines. We shall keep that promise just as we have kept every promise which the United States has made to the Filipino people.

The Philippine government, now in the United States, has been collaborating with the rest of the United Nations in the united task of destroying our common enemies in the East and the West.

As I stated on August 12, 1943, the United States, in practice, regards the Philippines as having now the same status as the governments of other independent nations—in fact, all the attributes of complete and respected nationhood.

I am sure that the American people believe that the Filipino people have earned the right juridically to be free and independent.

The President said that by granting the Philippines complete independence as soon as feasible, we

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Ambassador Harriman Is Popular with Soviets

It is often said that Russia's Premier Stalin likes successful industrialists better than communist sympathizers when he is dealing with representatives of a capitalist country. Whether or not this is always true, W. Averell Harriman, our new ambassador to the Soviet Union, is one wealthy businessman who has made himself popular in Moscow. As soon as his appointment was announced, Soviet officials registered their government's approval of President Roosevelt's choice.

Stalin has reason to respect Harriman as an industrial leader. Although the new ambassador began his career by inheriting from his father \$100,000,000 and a controlling interest in one of the nation's greatest railroads, his business achievements are notable in their own right.

After graduating from Yale University, Harriman went to work on one of his father's lines, the Union Pacific. He started the hard way, in greasy overalls, but soon worked his way up to a vice-presidency. While other railroads were failing in the midst of the depression, he expanded Union Pacific and made it show a profit. At the same time, he branched out into shipbuilding, investment banking, and aviation. Almost all his enterprises added new millions to the Harriman fortune, already one of the largest in the country.

The way Harriman does business has also won him a reputation as a liberal. Always deeply concerned with the problems of his employees, he is proud of the fact that on the Union Pacific, relations between labor and management are a model for the entire railroad industry.

Even in the early days of his



OUR NEW AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA is no stranger to Soviet officials. Here W. Averell Harriman is shown in Moscow a year ago with Prime Minister Churchill, Premier Stalin, and Foreign Commissar Molotov.

career, Harriman was not limited to business. During President Roosevelt's 1932 campaign, he served as his adviser on railroad policy. After Roosevelt was elected, he continued in this capacity, and also mapped out legislation for the relief of bankrupt local governments.

Under the NRA, Harriman was a member of the Business Advisory Council, and later its chairman. At the beginning of the war emergency he was known as the Number One spokesman for big business in Washington. Along with other prominent industrialists, he played an important part in organizing what is now the War Production Board. It was he who brought William M. Jeffers, recently resigned rubber czar, to Wash-

ington. He is also responsible for placing other business leaders in key positions for running the war effort.

Like Edward R. Stettinius Jr., newly installed undersecretary of state, Harriman owes most of his experience with foreign governments to the Lend-Lease Administration. For two years he was lend-lease expeditor in London. During that time, he had a hand in working out Russia's supply problems as well as Britain's. He first headed an American Mission on Aid to Russia a few months after the Germans invaded. In 1942, he flew back to Moscow with Prime Minister Churchill.

Harriman's interest in Russia dates even farther back in his career. Soon after the Soviet revolution, he was

one of the businessmen who went to Russia to help develop the country's untapped resources. He obtained a concession for the development of manganese mines in the Caucasus.

All three of his visits to the Soviet Union have impressed him with its great strength. In 1941, when most people thought the Germans could destroy the Red Army with no difficulty, Harriman reported to President Roosevelt that he was sure the Russians would hold out. He has high regard for Stalin, whom he once praised as, "direct in his dealings, a tireless worker, capable of making quick decisions."

Because of his understanding of Soviet war problems and his popularity with Soviet leaders, it is believed that Harriman will be able to work more closely with the Russian government than did the former ambassador, Admiral William H. Standley. Admiral Standley reported a lack of cooperation and understanding between his embassy and the American supply mission. His efforts were thwarted still further by the fact that he had angered the Russian people by criticisms of their policies.

It is expected that Harriman will go to Moscow in time for the meeting of American, British, and Russian foreign ministers. If he does, he will undoubtedly contribute to the discussions of world strategy. A close friend of President Roosevelt, he has been in on all the great conferences. His firsthand knowledge of British-American planning goes back to the time President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill staged their introductory meeting, on a warship off the coast of Newfoundland. Since then, Harriman has taken part in conferences in Washington, at Casablanca, and at Quebec.

The great energy and versatility which have made Harriman successful in a double career—business and public affairs—at 52, are also evident in his hobbies. Before his work consumed as much of his time as it does now, he was known as one of the nation's outstanding polo players. In 1928, he played in the international matches between the United States and Argentina.

Now Harriman plays when he can, raises "the fastest ponies in the world" on his farm in New York state, and collects the work of French artists.

National Student Poll Results

The questions printed below were carried in the September 27 issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER and its associated publication, the Weekly News Review. Readers of these papers, numbering approximately a million and a half, were asked to participate in a nation-wide poll of student opinion. Returns have been received from hundreds of schools and many thousands of students in all parts of the United States. The results for the nation as a whole are listed below. All are given in percentage form.

- Which of the American political parties do you favor?
 Democratic: 55.4 per cent
 Republican: 29 per cent
 Undecided: 15.6 per cent
- If you had it within your power to choose the next President of the United States, whom would you name?
 Franklin D. Roosevelt: 45.5 per cent
 Wendell Willkie: 10.2 per cent
 Thomas E. Dewey: 11.6 per cent
 General Douglas MacArthur: 4.2 per cent
 Others: 3.2 per cent
 Undecided: 25.3 per cent
 Total Republican candidates: 26 per cent
- Do you think that after the war the United States should enter into an alliance with Great Britain?
 Yes: 58 per cent
 No: 36 per cent
 Undecided: 6 per cent
- Do you think that after the war this country should enter into an alliance with Great Britain, Russia, and China?
 Yes: 67 per cent
 No: 26.5 per cent
 Undecided: 6.5 per cent

The Vote by Regions

	NEW ENGLAND Me., N. H. Mass., Vt. R. I., Conn.	MIDDLE ATLANTIC N. Y., N. J. Pa.	E. NORTH CENTRAL Ohio, Ind. Ill., Wisc.	W. NORTH CENTRAL Minn., Ia. Mo., N. D. S. D., Neb. Kans.	SOUTH ATLANTIC Del., Md. D. C., Va. W. Va. N. C., S. C. Ga., Fla.	E. SOUTH CENTRAL Ky., Tenn. Ala., Miss.	W. SOUTH CENTRAL Ark., La. Okla., Tex.	MOUNTAIN Mont., Ida. Wyo., Colo. N. M., Ariz. Utah, Nev.	PACIFIC Wash., Ore. Calif.
(1)									
Democratic	39	42	49	49	67.3	65	55.4	55.6	58.4
Republican	44	42	32	35.7	18	22	29	25.4	24.3
Undecided	17	16	19	15.3	14.7	13	15.6	19	17.3
(2)									
Roosevelt	36.8	39.5	42	38	54.3	50	45.5	40.4	46
Willkie	19	10.5	7.3	9	9	10	10.2	10.8	9.8
Dewey	13.7	16.6	16.7	16.3	8	7	11.6	14	8
MacArthur	2.7	5.7	5	5.2	3.8	4	4.2	3.8	5
Other	2.3	4.3	5	4.2	2	.7	3.2	2	5
Undecided	25.5	23.4	24	27.3	22.9	28.3	25.3	29	26.2
Total Republican	55.4	52.3	56	50.5	50.3	51	56	52.6	52.8
(3)									
Yes	50	53	56	61.8	63.5	70	58	48.8	57
No	48	41	41.4	36	32.5	23.4	36	45.6	38.2
Undecided	2	6	2.6	2.2	4	6.6	6	5.6	4.8
(4)									
Yes	69	64.6	67	65.5	68.5	65.5	67	74	73.7
No	28	30.8	27	27.5	24.2	25	26.5	21	20.7
Undecided	3	4.6	6	7	7.3	9.5	6.4	5	5.6

War Changes U. S. Medicine

ACCORDING to national estimates, the average man employed in industry normally loses about eight days' work a year due to illness and nonindustrial injuries, and the average woman loses about 12 days. Roughly figured, this means that because of illness between 300 and 400 million man-days a year are lost. This, of course, is in addition to the more than 50 million man-days lost annually because of industrial accidents.

In peacetime, such a tremendous waste of human time and labor is serious enough, but in time of manpower shortage like the present, it is tragic. And, to make matters worse, the increased working hours, the crowded, unsanitary living conditions in many war centers, and the increased tension of war have combined to increase illness and absence from work just when it does the most harm.

This problem has been of particular concern not only to the government but also to progressive industrialists, and at least one of them—Henry J. Kaiser—has tackled the matter in a vigorous fashion. When Kaiser began to build big shipyards in California, Oregon, and Washington, it was clear to him that local doctors would be unable to care for the thousands of workers he would need to build ships. He knew, moreover, that the average person would not call the doctor unless he was very sick; that for most people medical care is too expensive—something to be sought only when the need becomes extreme.

This would mean lost working hours for Kaiser. It would mean too many unhealthy workers and a slower rate of production in shipbuilding. If he was to give the government ships in a hurry, Kaiser knew that he would have to keep his people in the best possible physical condition. In typical Kaiser fashion, he struck at the very roots of the health problem by setting up a system which he considered to be most practical in the particular case of his workers.

The Kaiser Solution

Some years ago when Kaiser was building Grand Coulee Dam he had hired a doctor named Sidney Garfield to deal with the health problems of his workers. This doctor had developed a plan for group medical care which was used at the Los Angeles Aqueduct, Parker Dam, and Imperial Dam projects, and the same plan proved to be successful at Grand Coulee. Now Kaiser went back to San Francisco and rehired Dr. Garfield, turning the shipbuilding health problem over to him.

The doctor first went to work at Richmond, California, where the population had jumped from 23,000 to 127,000 and where medical needs were critical. He borrowed more than half a million dollars from banks to remodel and enlarge an old hospital. He equipped this hospital with the very latest and best equipment. He installed air-conditioning, put up Venetian blinds, and gave everything an attractive paint job, because he believed that pleasant surroundings help recovery. The rooms were all private, or semi-private, for Henry Kaiser was determined that every man should receive equal treatment, from the boss on down to the commonest laborer. From Richmond Dr. Garfield went to Vancouver, and then on to the other numerous Kaiser shipyards and plants, building more hospitals and many first-aid stations.

From all over the United States Kaiser has hired the best doctors he could find, paying them salaries of \$450 a month and more. He has staffed his hospitals with capable nurses. He now offers his workers the best and most complete medical care whenever they need it—including hospitalization for as much as 118 days (and sometimes more), X-rays, medicines, nursing, everything modern medical science can offer.

To finance this broad health program Kaiser deducts a small payment for health insurance from each worker's pay envelope—50 cents a week, or about seven cents a day. He

has persuaded insurance companies to pay a percentage of their industrial insurance premiums, which they are glad to do because good medical care cuts down their compensation payments. This money is enough to pay for all medical facilities and, in addition, to repay the cost of putting up the needed buildings.

An Example of Change

The system of providing medical care established in Henry Kaiser's shipyards is the most dramatic example of how war is bringing changes to medicine. They are changes which are certain to have important meaning for America in future years. They strike at one of the great problems which have long faced the average family—the high cost of medical care.

Here is the situation. The United States has produced as good doctors as the world has ever seen. In their laboratories, on their operating tables, in offices, clinics, and hospitals, these men have learned to work miracles in preserving and restoring the health of people. They have developed new drugs and surgical instruments. They have tracked down the secret of one disease after another. Year by year they have accumulated knowledge and skill which can mean better health and longer lives for the American people.

But the people have not been able to take full advantage of the advances in medical science. It takes money to train and equip a doctor. It takes money to build hospitals, clinics, and research laboratories. Someone has to provide this money.

Most of the money must come from the doctor's patients—from people who are sick and require medical care. Some people can afford all the medical care they need; many others find it much too heavy a burden for their incomes. Most doctors try to ease the load by charging the rich more and the poor less, but the cost of illness is still far too great for millions of people. The consequence is that we as a people do not have enough medical care. There is too much ill health, too much preventable illness among us.

For a number of years, now, there has been a rather heated debate over the question of paying for medical care. Many have argued that some way must be found to reduce the cost of illness, or at least to spread it out just as insurance payments are, and they have campaigned in favor of group medicine—the very system which Kaiser is now employing in his shipyards. They think a group of people should have the privilege of getting together and paying ahead for their medical care out of a common fund, and that doctors should be permitted to work together in groups to provide this care on a regular salary basis.

But many doctors, and their national organization, the American Medical Association, are strongly opposed to group medicine. They argue that it destroys the close personal relationship between doctor and patient. They say people treated in clinics, where they may see one doctor one day and another the next, will not be treated as well as by a single doctor of their own choosing. They claim that group medicine will cause standards of medical care to decline.

It is argued in reply that standards would go up instead of down, for doctors would have the great advantage of working together and of having the finest equipment. It is pointed out that in such great medical centers as the Mayo Clinic doctors work in a group; that the only real argument is over whether doctors should continue to charge fees or whether people should have the right to pay for medical care much as they pay for insurance.

Regardless of the arguments, group medical care has been spreading. The war, by bringing about group care in the Army and in crowded defense centers, has given it further impetus. Thus it is quite likely that after the war we shall see much more group health insurance than ever before.



U.S. MARITIME COMMISSION

WARTIME MEDICINE. Workers in the Kaiser shipyards have their medical needs cared for by making a small monthly contribution.



SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO

ON THE BATTLEFIELD. Medical science is making rapid strides forward under the stress of war.



DOCTOR AND PATIENT. Will the war result in the extension of group medicine to enable more people to obtain the medical care they need?

The Story of the Week

European Fronts

Last week it looked as though bad weather would do what Hitler's finest troops had failed to do in four months of desperate fighting—halt the Russian offensive. After sweeping steadily forward until they had broken through the line of Nazi defenses at several points along the Dnieper River, Soviet forces slowed down and paused. Autumn rains, which made roads almost impassable, were the reason. As we go to press, fighting has resumed along the 2,000-mile front, but most observers believe that heavy action will be postponed until the weather improves.

To the south, British and American forces continued to work their way up the Italian peninsula. New landings by the British Eighth Army gave them bases for striking at the Germans north of Rome. Meanwhile, Allied bombers extended their attacks, paving the way for future drives against the heart of Nazi resistance in northern Italy.

The past few days have also seen an increase in activity in the Balkans. Yugoslav armies claim to have most of the Adriatic seacoast under their control. As their battle continues, Allied naval forces are clashing with the Germans in the Aegean Sea. The prize in this battle is the Dodecanese Islands, lying between Greece and Turkey. Control of these island bases would be essential to any attack the United Nations planned against Greece and the southern end of the Balkan peninsula.

New Taxes

In the fiscal year 1944, running the government and the war will cost this country 106 billion dollars. The American people will earn an estimated 152 billions. After buying all the goods and services obtainable, they will have 63 billions left. Personal taxes at existing rates will lower the figure by 21 billions, leaving 42 billion dollars of "excess spending money."

These are the facts Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau had to work with in planning a tax program for the coming year. He faced two problems—one to pay for the most expensive war in history; the other to absorb the extra buying power that causes inflation. He knew that last year, war bond sales contributed 17 billion dollars to these twin causes.



MORE TAXES ASKED. Secretary of the Treasury discusses the new tax proposals with Representative Jere Cooper (center) and Representative Robert Doughton, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.

But he knew also that only in combination with increased taxes can they fill the gap for next year.

For these reasons, he has proposed a tax program which will add 10½ billion dollars to what the American people have been paying to their government. Six and one-half billions will be added to the levies on incomes, according to his plan, while the rest comes out of heavier corporation taxes, estate taxes, and new luxury taxes.

According to the Treasury Department's proposal, which is soon to be considered by Congress, the Victory Tax will be abolished in favor of the higher income taxes. Exemptions for persons with family dependents will be lowered so that those with smaller incomes will pay larger taxes. At the same time, these small income groups will receive a refund after the war on part of what they have paid.

The new luxury taxes, which are scheduled to run about 25 per cent, will be mainly on travel—railroad, bus, and plane tickets—liquor, tobacco, and chewing gum. The heavier corporation taxes will be directed most severely at the larger corporations.

Labor Convenes

Last week, representatives of the nation's two great labor organizations gathered for their annual conventions, the CIO in Buffalo, New York,

and the AFL in Boston. For the AFL it was the 63rd such meeting; for the CIO, which came into existence as an offshoot of the AFL, it was the eighth.

Both groups took the occasion to repeat their demands for a rollback on food prices to the September 15, 1942, level. Both pledged labor's continued support to the war effort through greater production. At the same time, both asserted that the nation's manpower problems can be solved through the voluntary cooperation of labor. National service laws, or any similar controls of the labor supply, were denounced as heartily by the Boston convention as by the one in Buffalo.

The scope of the CIO's political ambitions was evident from the trend of discussions at the convention. Besides mobilizing its own members for some kind of united action in next year's political campaigns, the CIO now hopes to call a joint meeting with AFL and railroad brotherhood members. Its aim is a strong bloc of voters who will support the measures and men favorable to the interests of organized labor.

Pacific Action

Although the European fronts are still first in the headlines, our forces have been making important progress in the Pacific theater of war. Last week President Roosevelt hailed the Japanese withdrawal from the central Solomon Islands as a real victory. He pointed out that our submarines have been taking an increasing toll of Japanese barges. Since these barges are the enemy's only means of moving troops in that area, this means a serious setback. The President also called attention to our growing air superiority in this area which has meant that each week more and more Japanese air and naval craft can be destroyed.

Reports from the Tokyo radio confirmed the fact that Japan is worried about her mounting losses in air power. In one broadcast, a Japanese navy spokesman revealed that a special session of the Diet, Japan's legislative body, had been called to establish a special ministry for increasing plane production. Others cautioned the Japanese people against

taking American production claims lightly, as facts showed our claims to be true.

Since the middle of August, our bombers have been raiding Japanese strongholds as far off as Java and Sumatra. At the same time, they have kept up the rate of destruction of Japanese aircraft in the fighting areas. In one sector of New Guinea alone, about 500 planes have been put out of action since the end of the summer.

Patterson Warns

Next year, 1944, may be the year of decision in this war, but at the same time, it is not likely to be the year of final victory. This is Undersecretary of War Robert P. Patterson's answer to the "fence-rail strategists" who say that Germany will crumble before the year is out and that once the war is over in Europe, finishing the Japanese will be an easy job.

"At the moment at least, Germany can make ends meet on industrial manpower despite the Army of 300 divisions she maintains in the field," he said. "We must not forget that Germany dominates Europe and feeds on Europe's industries and resources. The number of workers employed in war industries in Nazi-dominated lands was 23,000,000 at the start of the war. Now it is 35,000,000."

Patterson warned that although



Every day is moving day to him
MARCUS IN N. Y. TIMES

Hitler's legions are retreating, they are conserving their strength in doing so. "Soon," he added, "there will come a day when the forces of the United Nations will reach the lines where the Germans are determined to stand. That will mean fighting of the hardest kind."

The undersecretary concedes that our victories in the South Pacific have softened Japan's hold on some of her outlying bases. But, as he

NOTICE TO TEACHERS

In The Civic Leader of October 11, it was announced that a test on the Far East and Pacific area would appear in this issue of The American Observer. Publication of the test has now been postponed until next week. Teachers should retain the October 11 issue of The Civic Leader which contains (on page 3) instructions and the answer key.



Rome—next objective of the Allies



UNEMPLOYMENT HAS PRACTICALLY VANISHED. In September, unemployment in the United States reached the lowest level on record.

Chinese Exclusion

In 1882, Congress passed the first Chinese Exclusion Act, forbidding Chinese labor to immigrate to the United States. It took this action to stop our railroad builders from bringing in gangs of Chinese coolie workers who worked longer hours for less pay than American laborers could or would. It was felt that in competition with this kind of labor, our workers would be forced to a lower standard of living.

This ban has long been a source of irritation to the Chinese. Now that they are fighting with us, they feel it is especially insulting. Nor have the Japanese neglected it. In their propaganda, they have tried to convince the peoples of Asia that all they can expect from the white people of Europe and the Americas is racial discrimination and exploitation. The Chinese Exclusion Acts provide an appropriate talking point.

Recognizing these facts, Congress is now considering the repeal of the Chinese ban. Doing away with this law would not mean that either now or in the postwar period unlimited numbers of Chinese could settle in this country and become American citizens. It would merely allow them an immigration quota along with all the other nations of the world. Probably no more than 105 Chinese would be able to enter the United States in a year.

Allotments

Now that Congress has rejected the proposals to keep pre-Pearl Harbor fathers out of the Army, it is working out substitute measures to ease the hardship of their families. At this writing, both houses have drafted measures to increase the monthly allowances paid to dependent wives

and children of men in the service.

The present allotment is \$50 a month for soldiers' wives, \$12 extra for the first child, and \$10 for each additional child. Of this amount, \$22 comes out of the soldier's pay and the rest is provided by the government. The House bill would leave the soldier's contribution as it is now, but raise the government's share so that the allotment for one child would be \$25 and that for each additional child \$20. The Senate proposal would allow even more for the first child. It specifies a \$30 allotment for one child and \$20 for each additional one.

Up to now, allowances to the dependents of those in the armed forces have cost the government \$1,200,000,000. If either of the new plans is adopted, these allowances will cost \$650,000,000 more.

Polish Question

Whether or not the question of Poland comes up at the impending conference of American, British, and Russian representatives, the settling of Poland's borders remains one of the thorniest of postwar issues. Although the whole of Poland is now in German hands, the Soviet Union still regards the eastern half of the country, which she absorbed at the time of Hitler's first invasion of Poland, as Russian territory.

Reasons for Russia's claim include the fact that the Polish boundary of prewar days took in large numbers of White Russians and Ukrainians. A second basis for the claim is the fact that before the First World War, eastern Poland had been part of Russia since the middle of the last century.

Poland's government-in-exile protests that the demarcation line set between the Russians and Germans was negotiated without consulting the Poles. They call for a return to prewar boundaries which gave them a large nation of their own for the first time in centuries.

The United Nations alliance has not yet drawn up any plans for settling this kind of disagreement. While the Germans were secure in their domination of this part of Europe, the question stayed in the background. Now that the Red Army has advanced to points not far from the old Polish border, however, it is once again a dominant issue.

Back to School

According to the Census Bureau's latest report, unemployment in the United States has now reached a record low point. Only 800,000 persons are now jobless, as compared with 1,000,000 in August of this year and 1,700,000 a year ago.

One reason for the drop in unem-

ployment is the fall reopening of school. About 1,600,000 students who had been holding down wartime jobs for the summer gave up work to go back to school. Previously unemployed persons are filling their jobs.

The Census Bureau indicates that this year, many more students decided to postpone school for the duration than had done so last year. When the fall term started in 1942, 500,000 more young people left the labor force than in the corresponding period this year.

AP Decision

Just about a year ago, the anti-trust section of the Department of Justice brought a suit against the Associated Press, charging that its



As the Yanks entered Naples

membership rules made it a "monopoly in restraint of trade." Since AP bylaws provide that a newspaper must be approved by a vote of its members in order to obtain its news-gathering services, many papers are barred from using AP material. The government charged that AP bars new papers which might compete with its members. In doing so, it claimed that the press association was an illegal monopoly.

The AP answered these charges by claiming that if all who could pay for its services were admitted to membership, the quality of service might deteriorate. It claimed also that its right to fix membership rules in any way it chose was established in the Constitution under freedom of the press.

Now the case has been decided by a federal court in New York. The court ruled that AP might continue to elect members according to the will of its members. In order to guarantee unrestricted competition, however, the judges ordered AP to change its bylaws so that no newspaper could prevent the election of another paper which would operate in its own area of circulation.

News in Brief

Just as the Army consists of a number of separate field armies, so the Navy is divided up into fleets. There are now 10 of these in the various theaters of war. A fleet includes all types of combat and auxiliary vessels from battleships and aircraft carriers down to the smallest torpedo boats. It contains every type and size in the numbers needed for major operations in a theater of war.

A target that can be destroyed with 5,000 tons of bombs in a daylight air raid takes 15,000 pounds of bombs at night. Since precision bombing is possible only in the day, night raiders must rain their explosives over a wide area in order to accomplish their missions.

When the Supreme Court gathered for its first meeting this fall, there was a new crier to pound the gavel and speak the traditional words announcing that the court was about to begin its day's business. Seventeen-year-old John A. Kenning, who had never before seen the Court in session, is now replacing a man who went into the Navy.

Last fall an American warship known only as Battleship X won two thrilling engagements. In one she shot down 32 Japanese planes, and in the other she sank three Japanese cruisers. The mystery ship has now been identified as the *South Dakota*, first of a new class of hard-hitting battle-ships, which includes the *Massachusetts*, the *Indiana*, and the *Alabama*.

The reason our war production officials are trying so hard to increase the nation's output of planes is the high proportion of replacements needed. Battle losses, crack-ups, and broken parts take so large a toll that in order to keep 1,000 planes in the air for a single year, 6,000 replacement planes are needed.

The British have developed a weapon to stop Germany's 60-ton Tiger tanks. Battle-tested first in Africa, the new tank-destroying gun is capable of blowing the turret from a German tank at 1500 yards. The gun measures 24 feet from the muzzle to the end of the trail and is known for its unusual accuracy.

The American Observer

Published weekly throughout the year (except Thanksgiving, Christmas, and Easter holidays, and three issues from the middle of August to the first week in September) by the CIVIC EDUCATION SERVICE, 744 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C.

Subscription price, single copy, 15¢ a calendar year. In clubs of five or more for class use, \$1 a school year or 50 cents a semester. For a term shorter than a semester the price is 3 cents a week.

Entered as second-class matter Sept. 15, 1951, at the Post Office at Washington, 6, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Civic Education Service Publications
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The Young Citizen
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Generals Eisenhower and Clark take time off from talks on strategy to enjoy a joke.

Controversy Raised By Radio Broadcasting

(Concluded from page 1)

limited number of news analysts should not be permitted "to harangue, to preach, to tell the public what to think and what to do about it. We would be appointing a few men, giving them a preferred position, and letting them have a powerful advantage in molding the nation's thinking."

It is charged, however, that if the radio companies censor the scripts of the news commentators, they will

the government itself might exercise too great an influence over the transmission of news and opinion. Radio might easily become a tool of politics.

Another serious issue, closely related to the one just discussed, involves the conditions under which the broadcasting companies sell time on the air. They sell time to business firms but do not allow such organizations as the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Or-

ganizations, the name "General Motors." Would he sell time to the AFL to preserve "good will" in the name of the AFL? The answer was "no."

Mr. Woods pointed out that the radio companies often "give" time on the air to labor organizations, co-operatives, and similar groups, but that it refused to "sell" them time for the purpose of arguing their cases and of seeking new members for their organizations. He admitted, however,

governmental authority, or is it dangerous? Does it enable the administration which happens to be in power to browbeat broadcasting stations and force them to put on programs favorable to the administration? These are questions which are being studied by a committee of the House of Representatives. As this committee delves into the problem and uncovers evidence tending to prove or disprove the charges, this problem will be discussed in this paper.

U. S. Broadcasting System

Meanwhile, certain observations may be made about the American system of radio broadcasting. The American plan provides that the ether waves shall be controlled by great broadcasting companies which obtain their revenue by selling time on the air to large national advertisers. This plan gives the people programs which they like. If some of these programs are not of the highest order, it is because popular taste may not be sufficiently developed. Each advertiser wants to have as many listeners as possible and hence he takes great pains to provide programs which appeal to the public.

It is equally true that under the present system, great corporations enjoy an advantage over small business concerns. The big national advertisers place the names of their products before the people of the entire nation by the radio medium.

Our system of radio broadcasting, however, operates under certain checks and balances. The big advertisers are not entirely free in what they may say to the public over the air. The broadcasting industry in its turn is, to a certain extent, regulated by an administrative agency of the federal government, the Federal Communications Commission, and the FCC is subject to investigation and control by the legislative branch of the government—this is, Congress.

The people also, insofar as they are well informed and alert and critical, may exert a moderating influence through protests against unfairness and bias. Thus a great responsibility rests upon the listening public who must see to it that radio serves the public interest and not the interest of special groups.



DISTINGUISHED NEWS COMMENTATORS. To discuss the question of restricting news analysts from voicing their opinions, leading commentators met with officials of the Columbia Broadcasting System. Left to right (front row): Quincey Howe; Paul White, CBS news editor; Major George Fielding Eliot; H. V. Kaltenborn; Adolph Opfinger; Frank Stanton, vice-president of CBS, and Joseph H. Ream, secretary of CBS. In the rear (left to right): Cecil Brown; Lowell Thomas; Charles Hodges; George H. Coombs; Burnet Hershey; John Gunther; Bob Trout; John Vandercook; G. W. Johnstone; Paul Schubert; Cesar Searchinger; and William L. Shirer.

merely substitute their own ideas of what is good for the public to hear for the ideas of the commentators. For example, it is contended that CBS officials have forbidden certain analysts to present and discuss news items which are favorable to labor or other news which the big corporations who buy advertising time from CBS do not like.

The issue raised here is complicated and difficult. There is no easy way to make sure that radio broadcasts will be honest, fair, impartial, and free from outside influence. If commentators are free to speak as they please in interpreting and analyzing the news, certain of them will undoubtedly abuse the privilege and merely peddle their own ideas or those of their sponsors. If they are influenced by their sponsors, the big corporations which buy radio time will have great power in shaping public opinion.

If the broadcasting companies censor the news comments, the best and most reliable of the commentators will be handicapped along with the irresponsible. Furthermore, there is always the danger that the broadcasting officials, being business executives and realizing that their very existence depends upon the great business and industrial enterprises which buy time on the air, will permit radio to become too exclusively an agency of propaganda for these organizations.

If, on the other hand, the Federal Communications Commission, the government agency which regulates radio broadcasting, lays down hard-and-fast rules to govern broadcasts,

organizations, and the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. to buy time to sponsor programs.

Mark Woods, president of the Blue Network, declared during an investigation conducted by the Federal Communications Commission: "We are in the advertising business and sell time specifically for the purpose of advertising products."

Selling Products and Causes

Clifford Durr of the FCC pointed out to Mr. Woods that the great corporations sometimes use the radio not only to "sell products" but also to "sell causes." He referred to W. J. Cameron who, for a long period of time, spoke on the Ford Motor Company program and who consistently expressed the political and social views of the Ford Company and of large corporations in general. Durr called this to the attention of Woods, who declared that the presentation of causes by Mr. Cameron was "just a coincidence."

Would Mr. Woods sell time to General Motors to present a musical concert and the cause of General Motors? asked Durr. The answer was "yes." Would he sell time to the American Federation of Labor to present a musical concert and the cause of the AFL? The answer was "no." General Motors was interested in selling goods and the AFL was interested in a cause and in getting members, Woods explained.

Would he sell time to General Motors during the war period when General Motors had no goods to sell? He said that he would because it was important to preserve "good will" in

that the time given to these groups on the air was the time the advertisers least wanted.

The complaints of the labor unions and the cooperatives and others who feel that they do not have a fair deal in obtaining radio privileges are now being presented to the Federal Communications Commission. If this agency thinks that a broadcasting station is not operating in the public interest it has the right to deny that station a license to broadcast. In this way, it can enforce its ruling as to what is fair.

Is this a just and wise exercise of

SMILES

A fine example of tact is to make your guests feel at home when you wish they were. —SELECTED

Conductor: "You've slept and passed your station. That's a good joke."

Passenger: "Rather far-fetched, I'd say." —BOY'S LIFE



"You are talking to the manager!"

FROM SAT. EVE. POST

A man went to see his doctor about a pain in his back, which had been troubling him since morning. The doctor gave him the once-over, and in a few seconds the pain vanished.

"That's quick work, doctor," exclaimed the pleased patient. "Was it rheumatism?"

"No," was the reply. "Your suspenders were twisted!" —LABOR

Seeking information on what condition or combination of conditions contributes to cold weather, a reporter called an office of the U. S. Weather Bureau a few days ago.

"What makes the winter cold?" he asked.

There was a moment of silence. Then came the inspired reply: "Low temperatures."

—WALL STREET JOURNAL

Diner: "Do you charge for bread?"

Waiter: "No."

Diner: "Do you charge for gravy?"

Waiter: "No."

Diner: "I'll take bread and gravy."

—SCRIPPAGE

Filipino Freedom Is Urged By FDR

(Concluded from page 1)

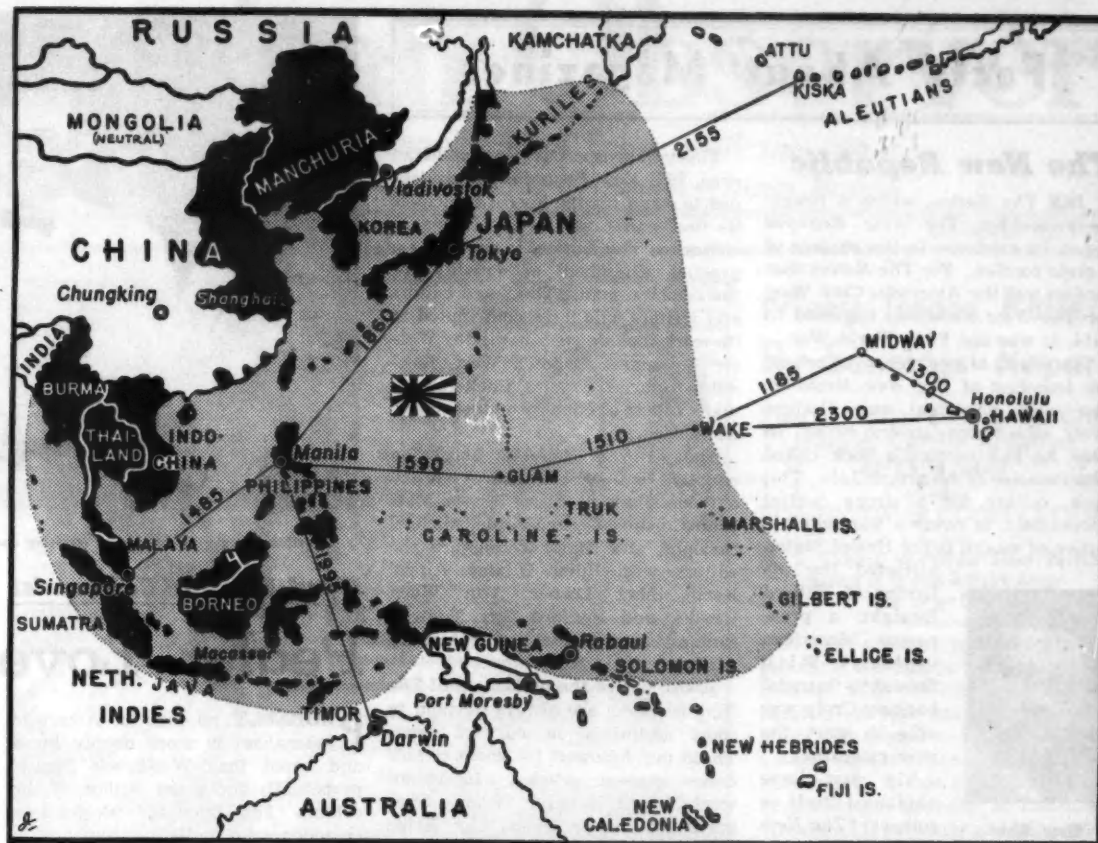
would "assure the Philippine people again of our sincerity of purpose and of our resolution to accord them the legal status of complete freedom, independence, and nationhood to which, as a member of the United Nations, they are entitled."

In addition to the desire on our part to carry out the pledge of independence, there is another reason why the attempt is being made to advance the date of Philippine independence. The President and members of Congress who support the resolutions for immediate or early freedom are using this means of combating Japanese propaganda. Ever since the islands fell into Japanese hands, the conquerors have been attempting to win over the Filipinos. They have promised them independence as soon as the war is over. They have set up a government in the islands, a puppet government, which gives the appearance of being a Filipino government. They are telling the Filipinos that the United States will never grant them their independence even if we should win the war.

This is part of the grand scheme of the Japanese of winning support throughout their conquered territories by proclaiming "Asia for the Asiatics." They are using the same tactics in other territories they have seized; in the Dutch East Indies and elsewhere. They want to win popular support by making the natives think that their rule will be less severe than was that of the Western powers; that it will be temporary, and that the peoples will soon enjoy the fruits of self-government and independence.

Countering Japanese Propaganda

Our moves to speed up Philippine independence must be regarded in part at least as an attempt to counter Japanese propaganda, as a part of the political warfare which must be waged in order to hasten the day of victory. But it is political warfare based on a solid foundation, for the Filipinos know that our pledges are not mere words. We have demonstrated our intention of freeing them from our control. Since they came under the American flag at the end of the Spanish-American War, we have



worked step by step toward granting them independence. On the eve of Pearl Harbor, they enjoyed practically complete independence, with their own constitution, legislature, president. And the promise of nationhood was solemnly made at a time when the threat of war did not exist.

At this critical stage in the progress of the war, the question of Philippine independence assumes far greater importance than the immediate issue. It relates, to a certain extent, to the whole future of colonial possessions in the Far East and Pacific area, for what we do with the Philippines cannot but affect future colonial relations in that part of the world. If we demonstrate our sincerity now by releasing our biggest colonial possession in the Far East, the inhabitants of the French and British and Dutch Empires in Asia will be encouraged. They will undoubtedly interpret our action as meaning that we will support their causes at the conclusion of the war.

But the granting of independence to the Philippine Islands—in 1946 or even earlier—will not solve the problem of the islands or insure their future happiness and prosperity. Tied up with the Philippine issue is that of our whole future in the Far East. Shall we withdraw completely from the Philippines, making no provision for their protection in the future? What shall be our responsibility toward their economic reconstruction and stability after their independence?

Problems to Be Faced

These are pressing problems which must be faced. The President was fully aware of them when he addressed his message to Congress, for he requested authority to negotiate with the president of the Philippines, Manuel Quezon, on certain of these matters. He asked for the authority "to enter

into immediate negotiations and take the necessary steps to provide for full security for the Philippines, for the mutual protection of the islands and of the United States, and for the future maintenance of peace in the Pacific."

We do not know what steps the President has in mind, but we may assume that a plan of military cooperation, a plan of defense in which we would participate, is called for. The war has taught us that it is impossible for small nations to protect themselves unaided. The Philippines are particularly vulnerable to attack because of their relative weakness. Thus, they must be included in whatever plans are made for the preservation of peace in the Pacific.

Whether we shall provide for the future security and protection of the Philippines by means of a military alliance or by some other means has not yet been widely discussed. It is possible that we shall maintain naval and air bases on the islands, working as equals with the Filipinos for their protection as well as our own. Perhaps their security will be provided for within a broader framework of international organization, whereby all the Pacific powers, strong and weak, would work together to prevent future aggression. These are matters which will have to be discussed and agreed upon between ourselves and the Filipinos.

Economic Relations

Hardly less serious is the problem of our future economic relations with the Philippine Islands. The prosperity of the islands depends upon a flourishing trade with the United States. In normal times, they sell approximately three-fourths of their goods to us. In turn, they are our eighth best customer. To remove the American market would be a severe blow to the islands and they would probably suffer a tragic economic collapse.

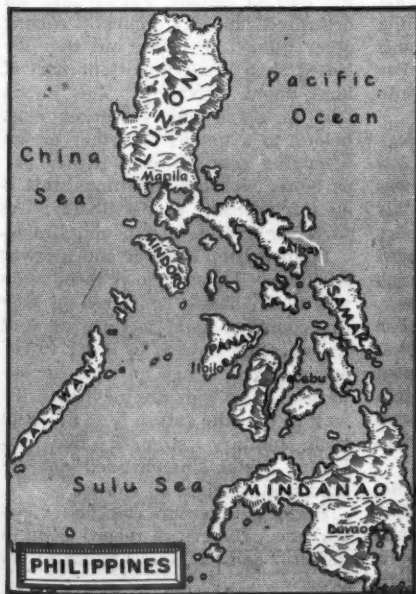
Under the existing law, the Philippines will not enjoy the trade advantages after independence that they enjoyed under their status as a possession of the United States. The

law provides that their products will be subjected to the same tariff rates as goods from other foreign nations. This provision would place the Filipinos under a severe handicap, for their economy has been geared to the favorable position their products have enjoyed on the American market.

President Roosevelt had this problem in mind when he recommended "that the Congress make provisions for determining the adjustment necessary in the existing provisions of law which govern the economic relations between the United States and the Philippines, so as to assist in making the Philippines, as an independent nation, economically secure wherever possible."

It is possible that trade arrangements will be made with the Philippines whereby their products will enjoy favored status on the American market after independence as they did while still tied politically to us. Otherwise the islands may turn to some other large power which is willing to offer her economic advantages and she may eventually turn toward cooperation in the political field with that power. In the foreseeable future, Japan is the only power which might offer the Philippines economic favors for political cooperation.

It can be seen, therefore, that the problem of the future of the Philippines cannot be solved merely by passing a law which grants them their independence. We must consider their future security as well as our own in determining the nature of our relations with them after their independence is established. Their security must be considered in relation to the whole problem of maintaining peace in the Pacific area. Moreover, positive steps must be taken to solve the economic problem which will be created the moment independence is granted. Not only our own future and that of the Philippines is involved in the wise solution of these problems, but the future of colonies in general is in no small way affected by the decisions we make.



Facts About Magazines

The New Republic

LIKE *The Nation*, which it closely resembles, *The New Republic* began its existence in the shadow of a great conflict. For *The Nation* that conflict was the American Civil War; for *The New Republic*, launched in 1914, it was the First World War.

The efforts of two men were behind the founding of *The New Republic*. The most important was Herbert Croly, who became its first editor. In 1909, he had written a book called *The Promise of American Life*. This book, calling for a strong central government to oversee the redistribution of wealth in the United States, attracted the attention of Willard Straight, a prosperous American diplomat. With Straight's financial backing, Croly was able to start the new magazine.



Bruce Bliven

The first issue explained itself as follows: "*The New Republic* is frankly an experiment. It is an attempt to find a national audience for a journal of interpretation and opinion. Its success inevitably depends on public support, but if we are unable to achieve that success under the conditions essential to sound and disinterested thinking, we shall discontinue our experiment and make way for better men. Meanwhile, we set out with faith."

Before the experiment had been under way for long, the question of whether or not this country should enter the war against Germany became a dominant issue. *The New Republic* took its stand for intervention, saying, "The cause of the Allies is now unmistakably the cause of liberalism and the hope of enduring peace."

After the war, *The New Republic* denounced the settlement at Versailles, on the grounds that it was a denial of all we had fought the war to defend. A special target of the magazine's indignation was the harsh treatment of Germany. This viewpoint brought public wrath on its editors, and sent circulation to an all-time low point.

The New Republic added to its unpopularity by championing Soviet Russia throughout the 1920's and 30's. Until a second war crisis began to loom on the world horizon, only its subsidy from the Straight family kept it going.

Even then, its attitude toward Soviet Russia brought more denunciations than praise. Most of the American public were shocked and bitter when Moscow joined hands with Berlin in the famous Russo-German pact and when Russia attacked Finland.

But *The New Republic* saw these actions as a form of appeasement—the same kind of appeasement Britain and the United States were giving Hitler. One editorial said, "We do not expect that out of this appeasement will grow that great bogey—an offensive and defensive alliance between Soviet communism and German Nazism, any more than a firm partnership between Britain and the Reich grew out of Munich."

Through prosperous years and lean ones, *The New Republic* has continued to stand for the liberal principles its first editor set forth. Never as radical as *The Nation*, it advocates a gradual attainment of equality for the common man. The noted editors and writers who have contributed to its work include such names as Walter Lippmann, Rebecca West, Randolph Bourne, Francis Hackett, and many others of equal prominence and distinction.

Today's *New Republic* boasts an equally distinguished list of editors and contributors. Bruce Bliven, Malcolm Cowley, George Soule, Michael Straight, and Stark Young are the editors, with Julian Huxley, Alfred Kazin, Max Lerner, Van Wyck Brooks, and Rexford Guy Tugwell ranking among the contributing editors.

About five of the first pages of *The New Republic* are always devoted to short editorials on current news. These are followed by about a half dozen general articles. In recent weeks, these included "Franco Prepares to Change Sides," by Heinz H. F. Eulau, an analysis of the present Spanish government, which the author finds rapidly falling into decay.

Other issues of the last few weeks featured "Britain and Her Colonies," by J. T. Harris, and "Chandler of Kentucky," by an anonymous author writing under the pen name of Potomacus. The former discusses Britain's chances of keeping her old colonial empire in the light of political conditions within each of the

The New REPUBLIC

October 11, 1943

What Russia Wants

Editorial

Chandler of Kentucky Potomacus
When Our Oil Gives Out Bruce Bliven
Books by the Millions Malcolm Cowley
Tom Girdler's Story Harold J. Rutimberg

Menace of the Cartels

by Robert Rothen

FIFTEEN CENTS

British-ruled territories. The latter is an account of Senator A. B. Chandler's political career, and a condemnation of his present policies.

The New Republic does not limit its crusading in the liberal cause to the 30-odd pages of each week's issue. Whenever a topic of special importance is in the news, it publishes a special supplement to give its readers a fuller analysis. One of its most recent supplements called "The Jews of Europe: How to Help Them" is a study of what is being done and what can be done to save the continent's Jewish refugees.

One of *The New Republic's* standard features is *Washington Notes*, a page of news and comment on events in the capital. Unusually fine book and movie reviews regularly occupy six or seven pages, and a large section devoted to letters from readers rounds out the magazine.



Westbrook Pegler (right) shown receiving one of his many awards for exposing racketeers.

Hard-Hitting Columnist

Pegler—Loved and Hated

PROBABLY no man in American journalism is more deeply loved and hated than Westbrook Pegler, perpetually indignant author of the column "Fair Enough." Pegler is a crusader who pulls no punches in telling his readers exactly what he thinks. In "Peglerizing" the issues of the day, he angers as many people as he pleases, but in spite of this fact, his daily pronouncements are read—by more than 6,000,000 people.

The favorite targets of Pegler's lashing wordage are: (1) labor unions, (2) liberal planners, "do-gooders," and bureaucrats, (3) Russia and communists, (4) Mrs. Roosevelt, and (5) corrupt machine politicians. In salty language, Pegler hammers at these groups unrelentingly.

Although a good part of his criticism of national policies represents no more than his own convictions, Pegler is a tireless investigator of corruption in unions and political machines. Coming up with exclusive evidence, he has put more than one petty tyrant out of action.

The style Pegler uses is a unique one, compounded of humor, sarcasm, and a down-to-earth vocabulary. As a phrase-maker, he is unbeatable. Always completely convinced of his own rightness, he does not hesitate to use tricks in logic, name-calling, or the harshest ridicule to make his readers think as he does.

The slangy eloquence of Pegler's style is something he acquired long before he began concentrating on the political scene. It made him famous as a sports writer in the 1920's. For Pegler, the commentator, came into being by a roundabout route.

The son of a newspaperman, Pegler was "running copy" before he was out of high school. Soon he was working for the United Press in Chicago. But when he asked for a raise, he was refused and told he needed more education. Pegler left his job to go to college for two years.

Emerging, he tried to establish himself as a cartoonist. Finding that this field was not for him, he went back to the United Press as a straight reporter. The First World War found him in Europe, first as a foreign correspondent, then in the Navy.

After the war, Pegler decided that his future lay in sports writing. Before long, his vivid accounts of odd and funny happenings in the sports world were earning him one of the

top salaries in the business. By 1925, his column was syndicated by the *Chicago Tribune*.

Whenever there was nothing of particular interest happening in the sports world, the *Tribune* left Pegler free to write on anything he chose. Cautiously, he tried his hand at national affairs. In 1933, he was hired by the *New York World-Telegram* to write columns exclusively on political questions.

Pegler first attracted, then repelled, liberals. Seeing Hitler and Mussolini as racketeers at a time when the two dictators were fooling a good many people about their true intentions, he won the respect of many liberal thinkers. But at the same time, he made no secret of his contempt for the "idealists" who thought that the world could be changed so that such men could no longer exist. Plans for collective security or international cooperation he always denounced.

Pegler takes individual freedom as his highest ideal. As a companion belief, he holds that no nation should be responsible for any other nation's problems, and that no government should interfere with the workings of private enterprise even to help the underdog. If there is to be freedom, Pegler believes the rule must be "every man for himself."

This is why Pegler calls himself the friend of the workingman but attacks labor unions. Besides denouncing corrupt unions, Pegler calls all organized labor tyrannical. Among other things, he points out that the closed shop is an important part of most union objectives. This means that to get a job, a worker must belong to a union. Whether or not belonging gets the man higher pay or better working conditions, this is an infringement of his liberty. As such, Pegler believes it is undesirable.

In appraising the war and postwar situations, Pegler follows through on this idea. There is no reason why this country should sacrifice some of its sovereign powers in order to cooperate with other nations, he believes. Since wars are inevitable, the way to face the future is to build up such military strength that the United States singlehanded can defend itself against all comers.

Pegler's supporters call these views realistic. His critics regard them as defeatist and dangerous to our future progress.

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